

## Report on W. German Elections

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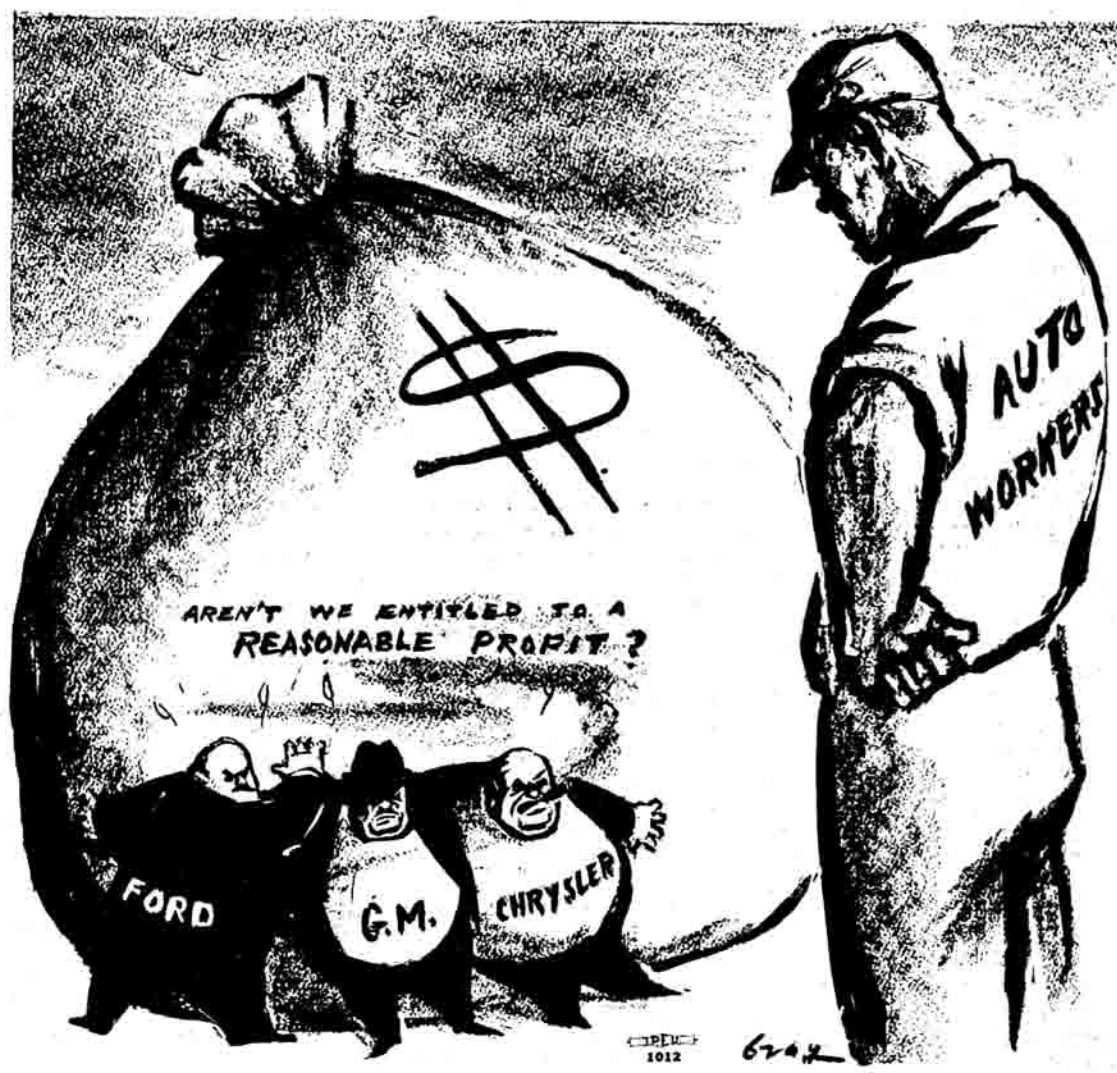
# THE MILITANT

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## Congress Ends Session With Police-State Law

By Myra Tanner Weiss

The first session of the 85th Congress ended Aug. 30. Congress won't reconvene until Jan. 7. Long vacations for many Congressmen will include travel to all parts of the world, at taxpayers' expense, on bonanzas called "inspection tours."

Did the Congressmen earn their pay? Big Business should think so. But workers, farmers, students, teachers, the Negro people and all others who want equality and freedom got nothing or next to nothing.

The session ended with a bill to shield secret FBI files from inspection in court room. It restricted last June's Supreme Court decision in the Jencks case, which upheld the constitutional right of defendants in federal cases to have access to FBI files wherever government testimony is based on them.

A Sept. 3 New York Post editorial angrily protesting hasty passage of the FBI-files bill said, "What is clear now . . . is the . . . virtual collapse of the liberal bloc in Congress under the FBI steamroller." Actually, the liberal bloc "collapsed" throughout the entire session and joined the rest of Congress in service to Big Business.

### MIDEAST DOCTRINE

The 85th Congress, controlled by the Democrats, started off with a special session to hear Eisenhower's request for a

blank check on war-making powers in the Mideast. He got it. The "Eisenhower Doctrine" quickly demonstrated its reactionary character when U.S. armed forces moved in to back King Hussein's overthrow of the democratically elected parliament of Jordan.

Between the saber-rattling opening and the police-state closing of the session, Congress prepared for passage of anti-union legislation with the Senate Committee investigation of "labor racketeering."

The Federal School Aid bill was junked much to the anger of over-worked and under-paid teachers and to the dismay of parents whose children will get inadequate education. This session appropriated only \$2.7 billion for Labor, Health, Education and Welfare while throwing \$33.7 billion to the preparation for war and another \$2.3 billion for "atomic energy" the bulk of which will be used to add to radioactive poison already in the atmosphere.

Senator Johnson (Tex.), Democratic floor leader, thinks this Congress will be entitled to a "place in history" for its passage

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## The Unholy Bloc Of Dixiecrats And Liberals

By George Lavan

Perhaps there has never been in recent times a better demonstration of complete lack of principle and cynical maneuvering than that given by the Republican and Democratic politicians on the civil-rights bill. The spectacle was unedifying but enlightening.

The desire of the Deep South senators to get the bill passed as a "good bargain" and to get the civil-rights issue thus buried for the coming Congressional year was illustrated by their fury at Senator Strom Thurmond (D-S.C.) for his last-minute filibuster.

### EVEN TALMADGE

According to the Aug. 31 N.Y. Times, "The leading Southerners were furious because, as men who had led the fight for weeks and months to alter the bill into a form not intolerable to the South, they felt that Mr. Thurmond was leaving in a single public image of a single Southern senator standing at barricades that had been deserted by the others."

Senator Herman Talmadge (D-Ga.), the notorious racist, accused Thurmond of a "grandstand performance that endangered the basic Southern cause," according to the Times. A state-

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# Armed Insurrection Led By Arkansas Governor

## Does Organized Labor Face A "Crisis of Corruption?"

By Joseph Keller

Many newspapers took as their Labor Day theme the "crisis of labor." As the N. Y. Times put it editorially, unions and unionism "are facing one of the greatest crises in their history. . . . The crisis of today is corruption." The N. Y. Post found Labor Day "shadowed by 'the modern troubles that haunt labor's house — troubles dramatized by the exposure of the squalid operations of Dave Beck, Jimmy Hoffa and other dubious characters. . . ."

Corruption and racketeering were likewise a principal theme of top union spokesmen. AFL-CIO President George Meany voiced the official attitude of his organization to the attempts in the Senate to smear the whole labor movement as "corrupt" and to pave the way for more restrictive labor legislation. Meany said: "We can and we will expel from our ranks organizations . . . found by public investigators to be substantially influenced . . . by corrupt elements or individuals."

He said further that "there is no room in the labor movement for those who betray their trust . . . embezzle union funds . . . make common cause with gangsters and racketeers. . . ."

### GIVE AID TO SMEAR

Why should this attempt by anti-labor Senators to smear the union movement constitute a "crisis" of historic proportions? How does it happen that top union officials find themselves so on the defensive and apparently so upset by the Senate inquiry?

To begin with, Meany, David Dubinsky, Walter Reuther and their like have given aid and comfort to this inquiry. Instead of opposing this disguised anti-union attack, they issued an edict providing for expulsion from AFL-CIO office of union officials who avail themselves of their constitutional right to refuse to cooperate with congressional committees out to knife labor.

At the behest of "public investigators" Meany would even expel from the AFL-CIO 1-

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AFL-CIO president George Meany and UAW president Walter Reuther (left). Reuther also heads the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO.

## Frame-Up in T-H Case Seen in Gov't Reply

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND, Aug. 28 — On Aug. 19, after obtaining two extensions of time, U.S. Attorney Summer Canary finally submitted the government's "bill of particulars" in the Ohio Taft-Hartley "con-

spiracy" case. In the case, Fred Haug, Marie Haug, Eric Reinthaler — prominent local unionists and five other persons are accused of having conspired to falsify non-Communist affidavits.

At the time the eight were indicted last January, the case was headlined on the front pages in the Cleveland dailies. Significantly, not one word about Canary's most recent "bill of particulars" has appeared in the local press to date.

The reason for the silence is not hard to find. The "particulars" which should have made the vague general charges of the indictment more specific, reveal instead the frame-up nature of the prosecution. That exposure might at last dispel the apathy in the labor movement to fighting back against the witch-hunters.

On June 19, Judge Weick-

partially granted pre-trial motions of the defendants for a bill of particulars. Here are the items he ruled the government would have to specify and Canary's replies:

With respect to paragraph number one on the first page of the indictment, in what "divers other places" were alleged "false affidavits of Non-Communist Union Officer" to be made.

Reply: Dayton, Cincinnati, Mansfield, Canton, Akron, Steubenville, and Toledo, Ohio. (There are only two locations in Ohio for filing such affidavits with the National Labor Relations Board.—J.S.)

As to Overt Act (5) of the indictment, state the names of the persons with whom defendant Chaka was appointed a courier.

Reply: "The names of the persons with whom Edward Jo-

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## Uses State Militia to Bar 9 Negro Children from School in Little Rock

By John Thayer

SEPT. 5 — Troops of the Arkansas National Guard with clubs, carbines, armored vehicles and jeeps yesterday surrounded Central High School in Little Rock to prevent entry of nine Negro students.

Thus did Governor Orval Faubus directly and deliberately flout a federal court order backing the school board's gradual and token integration program. His action amounted to armed insurrection against the federal government, including the U.S. Supreme Court.

The response of President Eisenhower, who by law is charged with enforcement of the orders of the federal courts when they are defied, was to back away from the issue and make excuses for the white-supremacists. Queried at his Sept. 3 press conference about Gov. Faubus' use of the National Guard to overrule the federal court, Eisenhower refused to be more definite than saying the Justice Department would "study" the case.

### PRESIDENT'S EXCUSE

He then added: "Now time and again a number of people . . . among them — have argued that you cannot change people's hearts merely by laws. Laws are presumably — express the conscience of a nation and its determination or will to do something. But the laws here are to be executed gradually. . . ."

It is to be noted that Eisenhower's tolerance of flouting laws of the land applies only to laws protecting human rights. Where it is a question of protecting the property rights of corporations, he is for rigid enforcement.

The President later said: " . . . the Supreme Court in its decision of '54 pointed out the emotional difficulties that would be encountered by a Negro, even if given — or by Negroes if given — equal but separate schools, and I think probably their reasoning was correct, at least I have no quarrel with it. But there are very strong emotions on the other side, people that see a picture of mongrelization of the race, they call it.

They are very strong emotions. . . . In using and thus dignifying the hate-mongers' term "mongrelization," Eisenhower was not only insulting millions of Americans but the majority of the world's population, which is colored and of mixed racial background, thus qualifying in the Dixiecrat dictionary as "mongrels."

Eisenhower puts the emotions of the oppressed on the same moral plane with the emotions of the oppressors when they are faced with the possibility of losing their power to oppress. Thus, he could logically have said of Nazi Germany: while we understand the emotions of the Jews faced with the gas chambers, we should not be one-sided — think of the emotions of the Nazis who believe that the very existence of a Jew in Germany is a deadly danger to the Aryan race.

Gov. Faubus is a "liberal" (Continued on page 3)

# Eye-Witness Report of Moscow Youth Festival

By Peter Fryer

Special London Correspondent

Into my office this week walked 28-year-old, curly-haired Maurice Pelter, supervisor in a London engineering shop and convenor of shop stewards there.

"Just back from Moscow," said Maurice, who was a member of the British Communist Party for 10 years until his resignation last autumn in protest against the Party leaders' unprincipled policy on the Hungarian events. Then he began to talk. Hour after hour he went on, unfolding an amazing story of the realities behind the facade of Soviet life.

He told how to be an ex-Communist Party member was the open-Sesame to free, frank and unbuttoned conversations with Soviet students, young intellectuals and engineering workers — while Party liners and anti-Soviet characters among the British delegates

were given the official line or frozen off.

He told how Soviet youth in little informal discussion groups among themselves accept the concept of "bureaucracy" — their own name for the bureaucrats is "boss-men."

He told how there is awakening a lively interest in the real Bolshevik traditions buried under the ice of Stalinism for decades, and how in particular Soviet youth, now beginning to think for themselves, are trying to find out the real role played by Trotsky and the Left Opposition.

Here in Maurice Pelter's own words is the story he told me of his fortnight in Moscow.

The frank discussions I had with many Russian people have led me to believe that the Russians divided the foreign delegations into three natural groupings and presented a different face to each group. Firstly was the openly anti-Soviet grouping which received little or no real information. Secondly was the starchy-eyed "communist" group which could see nothing amiss and made no criticisms. These people received the entire gamut of "official" information and left thoroughly satisfied. Thirdly was the group of people seriously and sincerely searching for the Soviet "reality." These people contacted Russians and asked serious questions. The answers were given with a direct frankness and openness that was most surprising.

The fact that I had recently resigned from the Communist Party and so held no Party card at first embarrassed me. But from my first conversations I soon found that my new status, "ex-Party member," was the open-Sesame to the minds and hearts of many Soviet Party members. For they had followed the recent controversies in the Communist Parties outside Russia and our conversations began to develop a pattern. First would be the "peace



These Soviet factory workers are part of the second largest industrial working class in the world. Participants in the Youth Festival report strike activity by this class.

and friendship" opening, followed by a general discussion on our work and impressions of the Festival and Moscow; then one would say to me, "What is your political position? Are you a Party member?" "I am a communist but I resigned from the Party some months ago." A polite silence, then— "Were you expelled? Was

would very much like to have a talk with you."

On separate occasions this conversation occurred with little variation. Yes, not having a Party card in Moscow gave one a real edge on the common-garden Party member in my search for "Soviet reality."

All the people I spoke to, many of whom have become very good personal friends, said that I could use freely what they said but they nearly all made one request. This was to reveal no details that could lead back to persons. As one, an engineer, said, "The sentences are down from twenty to five years. But who wants to spend five years in a Siberian Labor Camp?"

All these Russian people were Communist Party members. Without exception they spoke of the bureaucracy as the "boss-men." This seemed to be the generally accepted term covering the leading politicians, the top party bosses, the Komsomol bosses, in fact all strata of the bureaucracy, including the factory managers, the cultural leaders; all were termed contemptuously—the boss-men.

The Festival itself was a magnificent success. Moscow was gay, happy and colorful. It was a great pleasure wandering

around the crowded streets, viewing the shops, being stopped by the people, talking, eating the tasty ice-cream, drinking the lemonade and fruit-juices so popular in Moscow. For Moscow is a pleasant city, beautiful in its own way. We can learn much from the hygiene which is such a marked feature of Moscow life.

But the really outstanding fact on which all the British people agreed was the incredible friendliness shown to all foreign visitors by the Russian people. They were so warm and spontaneous! This fact became apparent as soon as we reached the Soviet Union, at Brest-Litovsk station. From there, at every station on our way to Moscow, crowds of people waited for us to arrive. They showered us with flowers, postcards of welcome, letters written neatly in English suggesting starting a correspondence—if I wish I could write to people from Brest, Minsk, Baku, noirochi, and Smolensk, all on the strength of such cards and letters. Small conversations were started in English, French and German on many topics. This was to be the pattern of the Festival. The people were most anxious to see us, talk to us, show us hospitality in a num-

ber of ways, but with such warmth, such spontaneity! Throughout the Festival, but particularly the first week, the coaches taking us around were mobbed everywhere in Moscow. Wherever a coach stopped, at a crossing or traffic lights, the people rushed into the road to the coach to shake our hands, have a little talk, to hand us presents, even to hand us money. This last was just a little embarrassing.

I will give two examples of this. Firstly, I left my hotel one day with 50 rubles in my pockets. I spent a little while I was out. I returned later in the day and counted my money. I had just over 53 rubles! Secondly, one lad was in the middle of Moscow talking to a crowd of people. During the talking he looked for his wallet but found he had lost it. The Russian people took an immediate collection for him, on the spot, and handed him 180 rubles, which was only 20 rubles short of what he had lost.

It was so easy to talk to people. We would return home to our hotel in the early hours and find hundreds of Russians outside waiting for English-speaking people to talk to, to discuss with. How many Russians (Continued from page 2)



# ...Eye-Witness Report of Moscow Youth Festival

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left their buses before or after their stop just to continue a conversation?

In the main we managed to go wherever we wished; the concerts, the dances, the shows. We visited factories, collective farms, other delegations, museums, the Kremlin, the Lenin-Stalin Mausoleum. The Festival was a huge success.

I have read since my return that the interpreters provided for us were "ubiquitous," "hard to get away from," and so forth. Whoever felt this lost a great source of help and information. I had a number of very interesting conversations with interpreters and eventually they provided me with very useful information.

As soon as I got to Moscow a political discussion developed among a group of us on the questions of inner-Party struggle and factional activity. An interpreter, a young man, said little but listened intently. To the defense of the official position there was a delegate who took the stand, which was one of defending the interpreter. After an hour the argument subsided, the interpreter having asked me only one question:

"Do you believe in free discussion or factional activity?"

Then he said to us, "It was very interesting, seeing two different viewpoints. I have never seen this before in my life." It was quickly pointed out to him that in fact I was not a Party member any longer. He said nothing and we eventually separated for the night.

Next morning he took me aside, and said, "I am in total agreement with your viewpoint. So much so that during yesterday's discussion I did not even

put the official view which I don't believe." He continued, "I know I am sticking my neck out, but I would like to ask you a number of questions." And he did. I had found a friend, a young Russian Party member who bitterly opposed the whole bureaucratic apparatus that runs the Soviet Union.

He was particularly concerned with the lack of Marxist thought covering the last 15-year period in the capitalist countries, and questioned me closely on the economic set-up in Britain. He had followed the struggle of the British Party through the columns of the "Daily Worker" and had started to re-read his own Party's history, particularly that of the Twenties. He took some of the magazines I had, Universities and Left Review, Labour Review, and Forum, for discussion and circulation among his friends.

He urged me to read Dudintsev's "Not by Bread Alone," as it showed honestly the real picture of the Soviet life today. He told me that he had been particularly incensed by the treatment received both by the man and the novel in the Party press and had written letters to say so. They had not been published, so he had circulated copies of his letters among his friends. His circle of friends had also had discussions on Marxism and political economy outside the Party syllabus. He told me that he knew that such things were happening in many places. He asked me:

"Please try to explain to me—why do such obviously intelligent men as Thorez and Togliatti support such a bloody and wrong policy? I can't understand such men. Nothing compels them to. They have no secret police behind them. I can't understand such people."

## Some of the Interpreters

With other interpreters I discussed the 10th and 20th Party Congresses. No matter where we started on literature, history, art, we eventually ended by discussing the course of Party history, the struggles of the Twenties, the Left Opposition, the need for a new approach to inner-Party struggle.

One boy said, "I wish you could meet my father. He agrees with you. So do I. He was an old Bolshevik. In 1936 he burnt his library, he shut up and said nothing, and today he is alive. Do you understand? But he has taught me the old Bolshevik traditions."

On one other occasion I went to a concert with another interpreter, a woman of about thirty years. We talked and she asked me for my impressions. I gave them, carefully. She was very surprised and asked me point-blank, "Have Soviet people told you these things?"

"Yes." "But they hardly talk like that among themselves! Why are you so interested in the way we really live?" So started yet another conversation, which lasted over some days. It became franker and more honest until she eventually told me the following: She no longer believed in people or the Party. One of her best friends lost his

## Greatly Interested in Trotsky

I was invited to a party one evening. Eventually I stayed at my host's two days and one night, engaging in discussions nearly the whole time! Once again I met honest Communist Party people.

The party was held in the single sublet room in which Ivan and his wife Shura lived, ate and slept.

Officially the rent for the room and use of outside lavatories should have been no higher than 20 rubles a month.

In fact Ivan was paying 200 rubles a month. I was told that this was a widespread practice in Moscow. Many of the other people I met there were being similarly exploited.

I was heartily welcomed with vodka and brandy and somebody started to play magnetotapes of jazz taken from foreign radio programs.

I was physically collared by a huge man who tried desperately to talk to me in broken English. Ivan, who spoke very fluent English, translated for both of us during the conversation that lasted eight hours.

The man's name, Sasha, he was a mechanical engineer, a university graduate. First of all he wanted to know what good the Festival would do if it was not possible for people really to talk to each other.

"Mir and družba, peace and friendship. What comes after these words are spoken?"

Again I was asked whether I was a Party member. Again the same pattern of conversa-

tion after being "betrayed" by another friend to the secret police. She never told me why. She thought that the Party bureaucracy was not interested in anything but themselves. "They speak of developing Communism, but all they do is bolster themselves. It makes me sick."

Interpreter after interpreter. They sneaked the official words but have their own private opinions. They are beginning to express them, if only in a limited way. One of the more political put the position of the young intellectuals as follows:

"We are communists who want more personal liberty. Our Soviet system has developed a massive new intelligentsia, who have been taught to think for themselves. Now they are thinking for themselves, acting for themselves, but without any direction. We are in an impasse. In front of us lie new roads. Which one can we take? Which is the correct one? We have no vocal leadership. We are split into little circles of personal friends with no contact between groups. I cannot see any answer. Perhaps in time a solution will be found."

I think that this represents just how far the young Party intelligentsia have traveled. They are in a ferment of discussion but can see no real solutions to their problems.

Eventually they suggested that I would like to go to Sasha's room some miles away with him and his wife and have a real discussion. I spent the rest of the night there.

I was questioned very closely on my attitude to inner-Party struggle. Sasha soon showed his keen knowledge of Soviet Party history. He had read some of Trotsky's early speeches and was keenly interested in the Trotskyist writings published outside the Soviet Union.

I was plumped dry on all I knew of Marxist thought outside the Communist Parties in the Western world. The concept of the "bureaucracy" and its role was completely accepted by this little group.

Sasha expounded at length the reasons why he felt Soviet power had not developed in the Soviet Union and why, in fact, the earlier bourgeois state apparatus had been used instead by the Party, during the twenties. He considered the last thirty years was an inevitable historical period which had now come to an end.

"A change is needed—and a change is coming. Back to Leninism, back to the old traditions of the Party."

This was Sasha's cry. Then he developed a very interesting theory. He started talking of the new industrial working class in the Soviet Union—"no longer with peasant roots, a real industrial class, with industrial traditions." He traced the development of this class and as-

serted that this was the most important factor which had changed in the Soviet Union during the last twenty years. "These people are not politically conscious," he said. "But they are giving the 'boss-men' plenty of trouble. They are a silent pressure from below. They have no political leadership—yet. They are making economic demands."

"Lower the norm," they ask. "Increase our wage rates," they demand. "Better houses, more houses, more food, cheaper food."



Young people from the United States carry their banner in a parade at the Moscow Youth Festival. Hundreds of lively discussions occurred between youth from 127 countries and participants report Soviet youth are eager for information and obviously thinking for themselves.

the Urals and other large centers.

Nearly all were concerned with the high norms being worked. The troubles were described as "Italian strikes," which seems to be approximately "go-slows." The workers go in but do not work or very little.

I had this confirmed by two other engineers on two separate occasions. All spoke of "Italian strikes" and the panic of the factory administration and the Ministries concerned.

In the Ordjonikidze factory the go-slow continued for two days, until a high Ministry official came down, called in the factory administration and the trade union officials and within a few hours the whole issue had been settled. The norm had been lowered and the workers were back working normally.

Sasha thought that the intellectuals, the students and the professional workers, would be able to provide the ideological impetus but that the actual leadership would arise from the new industrial working class.

I told him that I hoped that such a struggle would take place within the framework of the Party, otherwise the issues would become very confused. He agreed and stated that once again it was chiefly a question of inner-Party struggle.

Sasha explained that there had been a crop of labor troubles in the factories over the past year, in Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad, the Donbas,

Ivan's job was translating foreign novels into Russian. He was about thirty years old, a charming, intelligent man. He had been very critical of the Party "boss-men" in their actions over Hungary and told me that there had been a bit of an organized rebellion in the Moscow University when the first news on Hungary filtered back to Moscow.

Students of some faculties had refused to attend the lectures for some period of time and the unshot was that a number of students had been expelled, both from the Kom-somol and the University.

Ivan's wife, Shura, had been exiled. After a long battle with the University authorities, in the main the Kom-somol organization, she had been reinstated. Over this period she had become very ill and could not find a job.

Remaining a communist in mind and heart, she had obviously undergone a change of what she herself termed "priorities." She put it this way:

"Maurice, I know my husband does not agree with me, and perhaps I think just like a silly woman, but this is what I think."

"First of all, a man must be a man. Just that. He must walk the street and feel dignified. He must not be afraid of his actions, of his shadow. He must know that his political ideals and the reality of his society coincide, are joined as one."

"The aim of communism is the complete flowering of the human personality, the expansion of the human mind. Just look at us, wilted flowers, with all our capacities, ill nourished in our society."

"I demand for myself a certain measure of personal freedom, liberty to develop my own self. This is all I demand, but it is a crying need, for without it I shall die in this cramped, unnatural life."

As far as I can remember these were the words she spoke to me.

While Ivan was at work, Shura and I spent the whole of the day in discussions about life in our countries.

During the talking she raised the question of Hungary. She had heard, she said, that the

dinner in the 'National' and coffee in the 'Metropole.' It might have been Paris!

"We toured inside the Kremlin in his car. Red Square was cordoned off and no Russians were allowed in. But he spoke to the officer of the guard, who saluted and let him in. We wandered around in his car. It was a glorious time. We came out by the Spasskaya Gate, where all the leaders come out, and the bell went for us and the guards shot to attention as we passed them. He is a real big boy, this lad of mine."

"Do you know, he got us into the Bolshoi without tickets one evening, for a performance of 'Cinderella'? It was an al-

most impossible situation, but he had a few words with the manager and we were then shown straight to one of the best boxes. He knew how to go about things, my Russian lad..."

She seemed just a little regretful at returning to London did my friend. Perhaps it is understandable?

Coming home in the early hours of one morning a friend, called John, and I met two lads outside our hotel, Mickael and Gregor. Still being wide awake we chatted to them. They were engineers, they said, party members. Would we like to talk to them? The preliminaries were soon dispensed with and they asked us whether we had any, any English books and magazines to give them? I would try to obtain some for them, I said.

It was not long before they asked the usual question, "Are you Party members?" John still is and said so. Once again the conversation took the usual course and once again I found two more anti-boss-men, Communist Party members. They were both very bitter about the things that had occurred in the past, but were very careful in their judgments on why such things had happened.

Once again they were keenly interested in the Twenties and the questions of inner-Party democracy and struggle.

Once again, I heard of the industrial struggles which had taken place in the past year. This time particularly in the Ballbearing No. 2 Works in Moscow.

These two lads were desperately anxious to contact life outside the Soviet Union, and were willing to accept even comic books if we could but give them away. Later I managed to find the two copies of Universities and Left Review and a copy of Forum, which they took hungrily.

A Soviet Jewish Youth

Gregor was Jewish and wished to emigrate to Israel. He told us of the 1948-53 period which was so difficult for Soviet Jews. I had already had one other account given me by a Soviet Jew, and Gregor's merely supplemented this account. I asked him why he did not contact the Israeli embassy. He laughed and said "I would get a trip all right. Straight to Siberia, let me tell you." He said that half a million Soviet Jews would emigrate to Israel at the first opportunity, if it were ever possible.

He said that it was well known in the Party that just before Stalin died a decision had been taken in the top circle of the "boss-men" that would have affected the whole of Soviet Jewish life. Camps had been built to accommodate over two million Jews, but after Stalin died this plan was abandoned. Gregor and Mickael draw a huge

map of the Soviet Union showing where the national minorities had been deported and where it was proposed to absorb the Jews.

Gregor said that when Stalin died he raised his hat in respect, drank some vodka and did not feel at all displeased. Mickael agreed: "He was a great man, Stalin, but it signalled a great change when he died."

Mickael then gave us an account of Stalin's death which he had obtained from one of the Kremlin Guard. It was a very interesting and very circumstantial account which ended with Beria arresting and shooting without trial many of Stalin's closest associates on the day of Stalin's death, including his secretary Poskrebyshev (described by Khrushchev at the Twentieth Congress as "his loyal shield-bearer.")

Mickael also gave us an account of an incident he had per-

sonally observed when he was working as an engineer in Siberia. He was registering some papers with the local militia when the regional Komsomol boss was matched in and accused of stealing three truck-loads of wood for his own use. This is an offense which can carry a large sentence. Mickael told us he heard the "boss-man" and the militia-men have a little chat and away went the Komsomol boss as free as the air. No report filed, no trial, just a little private discussion and that was the end of that.

Before I left Moscow, Mickael and Gregor said goodbye to me in the following fashion:

Mickael said to me: "Maurice, I have a little souvenir to offer you, from myself and Gregor. We think that in translation it will prove to be very interesting to you."

First, in all my many talks and conversations I never once met one anti-Soviet person. I cannot stress this too much. For all the criticisms given to me, for all the terrible faults indicated, all my friends in Moscow are still supporters of Soviet society. They are and will remain communists.

Second, I only found one person who sincerely accepted completely and without criticism, the official standpoint. Even he was opposed to Stalinist methods.

Third, uncritical support for all the actions of the Soviet Union has now become a most stupid anti-socialist stand. The members of the Soviet Communist Party know quite well the faults in their own society and are beginning the battle to overcome them. Any insistence from "communists" outside the Soviet Union that no faults exist is a great hindrance and no help at all to Russian communists.

The Soviet Union has a socialist economy. The mass of the population, non-Party and Party, support their social system with varying degrees of enthusiasm and criticism.

The young intellectuals are finding their feet and are probing with keen minds below the facade of official "fair" tales. They are examining the structure of the bureaucratic apparatus which runs life in the Soviet Union, drawing their own conclusions and making specific demands for a more honest and critical approach to intellectual problems.

They appreciate that the bureaucracy is a fetter on the forward march of their society towards a communist future, and they are working towards methods of struggle which will free them from the mud of the past. But they are not confident of their abilities as yet and present a somewhat pessimistic view of their own prospects.

The new industrial worker appears far less articulate, less

maximum of political credit with a minimum of actual outlay. Eisenhower gave in again and again in coordination with Dixiecrat attacks in the Senate. Eighteen Republican Senators voted to reduce the civil-rights bill to a mere voting-right bill thus preventing a possible rupture in their alliance with the Southerners against social legislation.

In neither Big Business party did the Negro people have one true fighter for their rights.

**Sobell Petition Campaign Extended**

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## A Vital Case for Labor

The latest developments in the Ohio Taft-Hartley conspiracy indictment are reported elsewhere in this issue. What is involved in this case? In the first place there is the question of the non-Communist provision of the Taft-Hartley act itself.

There is no way to justify this provision — from any point of view — without abandoning the principles of democracy. It is nothing less than a declaration in law that the ranks of the unions are not to be trusted with choosing their officials and that the government has the right to veto the results of union elections.

After all, who has the right to decide who the officers of a union should be, the workers who are members of the union, or government officials — most of whom are direct agents of the employers?

To allow the capitalist government to exercise any kind of veto over union affairs is to allow a step toward controlled unions and the police state.

In addition, the provision gives anti-labor government officials a weapon which can be used to harass any union official that doesn't toe the line that the present rulers of this country consider acceptable. The jailing of militant unionists by means of the frame-up is a device as old as the labor movement. The T-H provision is particularly suited to this kind of anti-labor attack. In order to establish some kind of a case, the gov-

ernment prosecutors have only to reach into their stable of paid informers and come up with someone who will swear that the unionist in question was a member of the Communist Party at the same time he was a union official.

In the Ohio case an additional element is involved. Only two of the eight defendants are accused of having falsified T-H affidavits. Five of the defendants have not even been union officials during the T-H period. They are alleged Communist Party members who are supposed to have associated with the union officials. On that basis all eight are accused of "conspiring" to falsify Taft-Hartley affidavits. Thus the government is attempting to use the T-H provisions to attack free association in general and to provide an additional weapon in the witch hunt outside the unions.

A successful defense against the Ohio T-H "conspiracy" indictment would be a timely set-back to the witch-hunters and an important part of the defense of the labor movement as a whole against a mounting government attack.

Money, which is badly needed for legal expenses in the case of the three indicted unionists can be sent to the R-H Defense Fund, Tom Degnan, Treasurer, 1205 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio. For the other five defendants aid may be sent to the Committee for Taft-Hartley Defendants, 2014 E. 105 St., Room 202 Cleveland 6, Ohio.

## The Police-State Liberals

Within a matter of weeks the liberal Democrats in Congress twice bent their supple spines to reactionary pressures. Long claiming to champion civil rights, especially during election campaigns, they joined the Dixiecrats when the fight was actually on. They helped to cripple the last remaining enforcement provision of the civil-rights bill.

Then, in the final days in Congress, after a show of resistance, the liberal Democrats buckled to the pressure of the administration and voted for the FBI file bill demanded by the Justice Department. The vote in the Senate was 72-2. Only Estes Kefauver, unexpectedly, and Senator Langer (R-N.D.) voted against the bill.

Earlier, the Senate had passed a bill sponsored by Sen. O'Mahoney (D-Wyo.) — a prominent liberal — that fell short of fully satisfying the FBI. Some protection provided by the Supreme Court decision in the Jencks case remained.

The liberals in the House unsuccessfully attempted to counterpose the Senate bill to the one demanded by the Administration. The two bills were then sent to conference for reconciliation. After a very brief and secret deliberation an entirely new bill emerged that gave the FBI everything it wanted.

The liberal Democrats, without even seeing the new bill, voted for it. Some very fancy explaining had to be done to

reconcile their vote switch. Senator Clark (D-Penn.) tried to get by with saying that he had doubts about the constitutionality of the bill, "but I shall vote for it with the conviction that . . . if it violates due process, we can leave that to the courts."

Actually, the phenomenon of liberal Democrats bucking whenever the pressure is on is an old story. And so is the union of Southern Democrats and Northern liberals for the political expediency of party considerations. But the political atmosphere in America is changing. The demand for restoration of civil liberties, like the demand for civil rights, is growing strong.

Under these circumstances the capitulation of the liberals becomes obnoxious to many who have traditionally supported the labor alliance with the Democratic Party. Meany, Reuther, and yes, the Communist Party leadership should take note. The successful union of Dixiecrats and liberals in this session of Congress will create a breach between the workers and the Democratic Party, just as the civil rights sell-out has sharpened the breach between the Negro people and the Democrats.

The demand for the building of an independent labor party will be listened to with ever-more sympathetic ears. Those who counsel "expediency" over principle will not be heard.

# W. German Election Campaign

By John Black

GERMANY — Only two weeks remain until election day. Up to now, there is very little excitement and only limited interest in the population of West Germany, if one can judge by impressions. In so far as they had one at all, the general strategy of the Social Democrats (SPD) was to start the campaign early and to wind up strong near the end of the electioneering. The opinion of many party militants is that SPD leader, Ollenhauer's rally which launched the campaign was too early, and that a slump in the middle of the campaign gave Chancellor Adenauer's Christian Democratic Union (CDU) the opportunity to reach the population with its saturation propaganda.

More important is the unwillingness or perhaps the inability of the party leadership to mobilize the ranks of the party for any kind of activity. To the extent that election activity is carried on, it is at the initiative of local functionaries who are anxious to press forward. There is deep dissatisfaction at the

complete lack of fighting leadership from the top of the organization. Even the reformist rank-and-filers are impatient with the lack of push and the constant vacillation of the tops on all vital questions.

### BATTLE OF POSTERS

With very few election rallies as yet, the campaign consists of the battle of posters. These are pasted on all available walls and billboards, space rented by the political parties.

The attitude of the local SPD officials can easily be measured by the character of the posters employed and the imagination employed in displaying them. Where the SPD leadership is more to the left, posters condemn Adenauer for permitting atomic rearmament and militarization in Germany. The more conservative districts of the SPD concentrate on such issues as "Fair Election Campaigns."

In the Rhine Ruhr towns, where the congenial Social Democratic compromises face the whiplash of reaction from clerical authoritarian forces, the local organizations put up a



ERICH OLLENHAUER

fight. All roads leading into town carry posters putting the blame for high prices on the big-business Adenauer coalition, and next to the Adenauer posters, which read "Those who think vote CDU," there appear SPD posters declaring "Those who think further vote SPD."

Frankfurt-on-the-Main, has a Social Democratic administration and lies in the Social Democratic state of Hessen. On my way to the SPD headquarters there I had to pass the old City Opera House, one of the few buildings in town which has not been rebuilt. Bombed out and burned to a mere shell, it stands in the busiest part of town like a monument to man's destructive power.

While crossing the opera square, I glanced at one of the walls and was surprised and shocked to see a picture of the late Adolf Hitler staring at me — his hypnotic eyes and the jetblack hair hanging over his forehead and that little mustache under his nose.

The inscription on the poster said: Vote CDU. It took me a few seconds to realize that this was a standard CDU poster picture of Chancellor Adenauer which had been cleverly defaced by some enterprising opponent. Hessen SPD officials told me later that very little campaigning was taking place until the last few days of the campaign in their area. But some enthusiastic socialist youth had gone out one night and gone to work on their opponents' posters without the OK of the SPD organization.

The role of the trade union

federation (known as the DGB) is a peculiar one. The federation is the result of the fusion of the previous separate Catholic and Social Democratic unions. The Church is strongly behind the CDU and the overwhelming majority of the rank and file support the SPD. The union officials are afraid to openly support the SPD election platform for fear of opening internal war in the union leadership.

A conversation I had with a trade union official in the magnificent DGB building in Frankfurt was interrupted several times by phone calls from different parts of the country and from various press services seeking clarification on a speech this official had made the night before. Himself a member of the SPD for well over 30 years, he had addressed a closed meeting of SPD members on the subject of the election. Reporters had spotted him there and that morning's newspaper carried a story which left open to speculation whether he had spoken in the name of the union or as an individual. Forces anxious to provoke a split along religious lines are constantly at work.

An illustration of the situation facing the SPD elements in the DGB is the fact that in one area of Hessen both SPD and CDU candidates are members of the trade union federation. One month before the election, which will take place Sept. 15, the DGB leadership published a call for the election of candi-

dates who "stand for the interests of employees, pensioners and war victims." It followed the call with a series of demands on the coming parliament. These follow closely the election promises of the SPD.

### INFLATION

DGB executive board member Rosenberg stated that Adenauer had made a temporary price-stop agreement with the heads of various industries and that further price inflation was fully prepared in steel, furniture, shoes, coal and in several branches of agricultural goods. The unions have warned that price increases would hit the population immediately after the election. A new series of wage demands were hinted at by the union officials if this should take place.

It is not likely that the SPD will find it possible to develop a new wave of initiative as they did at the very beginning of the campaign. At that time, Adenauer was on the defensive about such questions as atomic arms on German soil, remilitarization, and the cold war policy of his foreign minister, Brentano. The opportunity was there, and a great deal of discussion is going on in all circles of the labor movement about the failure of the party tops to give fighting leadership to this campaign — a campaign which will decide the future of the German labor movement in the coming years and which has the opportunity to change the balance of power in Europe.

## Trotsky's 'Revolution Betrayed' Is Marxist Classic Says Deutscher

A review of Leon Trotsky's *The Revolution Betrayed* by Isaac Deutscher appeared in the Aug. 24 New Statesman, a leading British weekly. Trotsky's book was recently reprinted by Pioneer Publishers in New York.

"New attempts [by the Soviet government] to lay Trotsky's ghost," says Deutscher, "do not alter the fact — indeed they confirm it — that a new generation of the Soviet intelligentsia are grappling with the significance of Trotsky's struggle against Stalin and with its relevance to the problems of the post-Stalin era."

"The Revolution Betrayed remains a classic of Marxist literature. . . . What gives to *The Revolution Betrayed* its weight as a document of our time is the masterly critical panorama of Stalinist society during its early and middle periods which Leon Trotsky drew here. While the polemicist denounces the 'plots' of the bureaucracy and, above all, of Stalin, the sociologist sees Stalinism and its growth as a historical process determined by objective circumstances, by the isolation of the Russian revolution and the appalling poverty and backwardness of the environment in which the first 'workers' state' had set out to build Socialism."

In his review, Deutscher continues to disagree with Trotsky as to the necessity of a workers' revolution rather than of reform to do away with Stalinism. "But history is already proving Trotsky profoundly right in this his inspired prophesy: . . . the actual establishment of a socialist society can and will be achieved, not by these humiliating measures of a backward capitalism, to which the Soviet government is resorting, but by methods more worthy of a liberated humanity — and above all not under the whip of a bureaucracy."

## ... Crisis of Corruption

(Continued from page 1)

1,500,000 guiltless members of the teamsters union along with a few corrupt top officials.

### FACTS LONG KNOWN

Neither Meany, Reuther and Dubinsky nor the investigating Senators are dealing with a new condition in the unions. The facts about Beck's activities, for instance, have long been public property. The present editor of the Militant, Daniel Roberts, wrote an extensive article on Beck in the Dec. 1950 Fourth International magazine, which contained more devastating details about Beck than anything the Senators can claim to have uncovered.

We don't know if Meany or the Senators read Roberts' article when it appeared. It would have made no difference to them. In 1950, different conditions prevailed and the Senate was engaged in a witch-hunt against "reds." Union officials Beck, Meany, Dubinsky and Reuther included, were engaged in their own hue and cry against "communists." But the late Sen. McCarthy had provided the preliminary to a drive against organized labor as such.

Senate anti-labor leaders decided the time was ripe this year. First of all, they have in mind the very real possibility of an economic crisis, in which event the capitalists would seek to throw the full burden of a recession or depression on the workers.

### FEAR UNION RANKS

But, today, the employers and their political agents confront a massive labor movement which, in spite of its leadership, possesses an immense combative potential. While strikes appear on the decline this year, largely as the result of union contracts still in force from previous years, last year the giant steel industry, Westinghouse Corporation and many other industries and corporations were shut down by strikes.

The employer class places less reliance on the union leaders to effectively "police" the unions, to curb the militant ranks, water down wage and hour demands and, in general, insure that the unions do not press beyond the point of permitting the capitalists to get their usual "reasonable" profits. The corporations have little confidence that the union officials are capable of

restraining the union members in the event of increasing economic pressure. The corruption smear is a stage in the preparation for more government intervention and repression against the unions.

Union leaders like Meany, Dubinsky and Reuther accept the "right" of government bodies, which are nothing more than agencies of the capitalists, to probe and pry into the unions. At the same time, they sense the axe is being sharpened for themselves, too. They hope to avert the blow by a show of support for the Senators' alleged aims to halt union "corruption."

### THE REAL CRISIS

There is a real crisis of labor, however, but it is not new and doesn't involve corruption in the sense of robbing the union till or collusion with known gangsters. It does involve another form of corruption, more pervasive, more entrenched and, in the long run, more dangerous and costly to the workers.

A Reuther, who gets a "mere" \$22,000 salary per year, is corrupted by other inducements. "Fame Is the Spur" is the title of a British movie which portrayed the rise of an English labor leader who betrays the workers so that the king might honor him with a "Sir" before his name. In America, top labor leaders not only get salaries in the upper five per cent of the income brackets but they become recognized public figures. Their utterances make newspaper headlines. They speak on radio and TV. They get to shake hands with the President. Politicians compete for their favors. In private conferences, a Ford might call a Reuther "Walter" and a Reuther might call a Ford "Henry."

The essence of this corruption is class collaboration. It is based on the false belief that the interests of labor and capital are, if not identical, at least similar. The average top union official draws down a guaranteed annual salary of anywhere from \$20,000 to \$50,000 a year, plus expense accounts. He, naturally, feels closer in class spirit to the employers and their political agencies than to the workers. These union officials remain in power through organized machines of well-paid dependents who crush and silence opposition.

In this connection, I recall

an example from the founding convention of the Steelworkers Union in May 1942. The steel workers had been led for six years by a CIO-appointed Organizing Committee which had never voted for and which was bound by no constitutional restrictions. When the late Philip Murray, who then headed the Committee, finally decided the time was ripe to set up an international union, his major concern was to prevent the slightest quiver of opposition. In his keynote address, he openly threatened the ranks: "I shall fight any attempt that is made to have little back-room caucuses while this convention is going on. So if any of the boys are thinking right now of mid-night sessions in strange places in the city of Cleveland, just begin to forget about it right now."

The delegates did forget about it too. A double line of Murray's big goons flanked the delegates as they walked through the lobby into the convention hall, which was surrounded by even bigger goons.

### UNION DEMOCRACY

From top to bottom, the labor bureaucracy aims to stifle union democracy. It is only by preventing the ranks from speaking up and acting on their own behalf that class-collaboration policies can be enforced. The labor bureaucracy loots mere millions from union funds in the form of high salaries, padded expense accounts and even a bit of light-fingered dipping into treasuries. But in terms of loss of potential wage gains the workers pay billions annually for the existence of this bureaucracy.

The fight for union democracy and a class-struggle program, which is a fight to oust the whole bureaucratic class-collaborationist leadership, would also bring with its victory the elimination of the outright crooks and racketeers. That is a solution to corruption in the unions that neither the Senators and corporations nor Meany, Dubinsky and Reuther would welcome.

### Introductory Offer

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## Reprint Leon Trotsky's '3rd Int'l After Lenin'

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL AFTER LENIN by Leon Trotsky. Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y. 400 pages. Cloth: \$4.00. Paper: \$2.50.

Elsewhere in this issue of the Militant is a report of the recent Moscow Youth Festival. Several times in this account the author tells of the keen interest of Soviet youth in the events of the 1920's.

This is not surprising for it was in that decade that Stalin came to power. The 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956 destroyed the Stalin myth. In its place stood great, glaring questions. Where did the road of Lenin end and where did the course of Stalin begin? How was Soviet democracy — the greatest ever seen in history — destroyed and how did a police dictatorship take its place? Did the Marxists anticipate this development? Did anyone see the danger? Did anyone combat it?

These and many other questions are uppermost in the minds of Communist youth and workers, not only in the Soviet Union, but throughout the world. In the search for the answers to these questions, Trotsky's work, *The Third International After Lenin*, reissued by Pioneer Publishers, is indispensable.

In this book is to be found the criticism of the Left Opposition to the draft program of the Communist International, prepared by Stalin for the Sixth World Congress in 1928. The fundamental theoretical questions that marked Stalin's departure from Marxism and Leninism are submitted by Trotsky to searching examination and polemic.

Stalin's theory of "socialism in one country," advanced for

the first time in 1924, is at the core of the programmatic struggle. To read this polemic now, almost three decades after it was written, is to see the power of ideas — and also the disasters that result from false theories.

In his criticism of Stalin's draft program, for example, Trotsky combatted a conception of fascism that five years later was to result in the defeat of the powerful German Communist Party and the victory of Hitler. "The leadership of the Comintern," Trotsky said, "set up the senseless and oversimplified contention of the identity of the social democracy with Fascism." This false view served to hopelessly divide the German workers in the face of the Nazi storm-troopers. And Hitler walked into power without a struggle.

Unfortunately the contents of this book are still not available in the Soviet Union. But now that it is once more available in English, and despite all language barriers, Trotsky's book will find its way to those in every country who are searching for answers. The second edition will prove an even more powerful weapon in the struggle for Marxism than the first — for it can no longer be effectively forbidden.

— C. R. Hubbard

## .. Armed Insurrection

Southern Democrat, reelected last year with AFL-CIO and much Negro support. He appeared last week in a state court to aid a white-supremacist leader get an injunction against school integration. This was granted but the federal court declared its power superseded a state-court injunction and ordered the integration to proceed.

Faubus then went on TV to claim that bloodshed was impending, that there had been a run on stores selling knives and guns, and that therefore he was ordering the National Guard to surround the school.

The Arkansas Gazette, leading newspaper of Little Rock, interviewed the city's storekeepers and found that none had experienced an unusual sale of knives or guns. Other scare stories told by Faubus to whip up the racists have also been exposed as lies.

### FORCE AND VIOLENCE

Local authorities had not requested the troops. In fact, the Little Rock school board had made the decision to integrate.

When the Little Rock school board retreated under the Governor's threats of force and violence, and directed the nine Negro students not to report to school, Federal Judge Ronald N.

Davies, a North Dakotan temporarily filling a vacancy in the Arkansas district, ordered the children to school.

On Sept. 4 the Negro children courageously braved an insulting, threatening mob. Gov. Faubus' troops barred their entry thus making crystal clear the Governor's defiance of the injunction.

Gov. Faubus is now in contempt of court and is liable to imprisonment. Moreover, he is subject to indictment for violating a federal statute against depriving citizens of their legal rights. Finally, Eisenhower has the power to order federal troops to uphold law in Arkansas.

The course of action the Big Business government in Washington would take if property rights were at stake is obvious. But it will take mass pressure to move the White House to uphold the human rights of the Negro children of Arkansas.

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# Chicago NAACP Plans Return to Calumet Park

CHICAGO, Sept. 2 — A mass meeting held yesterday marks the beginning of a counter-offensive by the Negro people of this city against the wave of racist violence which has gone unchecked by the authorities. Indicative of the militant spirit was the slogan launched by Willoughby Abner, president of the Chicago National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, of a return to Calumet Park, now barred to Negroes by racist hoodlums.

It was at Calumet Park on July 28 that Negro picnickers were driven out by rock-throwing white supremacists. As in previous racist incidents, the police winked at the anti-Negro violence. Official inaction so emboldened racists that the city has been on the verge of a race riot.

Abner's message was read to the audience because he was out of town. It said: "The NAACP is convinced that before the snow falls there must be a return to Calumet Park. As of this date, the rioters, the breakers of the law have, through violence and brutality, accomplished their objective: To keep Negro Americans out of a particular public park. This the NAACP cannot, must not, and will not tolerate. The NAACP proposes that such return be under the leadership of the ministry and in the form of a prayer service and report meeting. . . However, should for any reason the proper service not materialize, as President of the Chicago Branch NAACP, I shall call a special meeting of the NAACP board of directors squarely in the center of Calumet Park."

The open-air rally in Washington Park, attended by over

1,000, was called by the Coordinating Council for Citizens' Rights, a recently organized body including trade unions, the NAACP, Negro community churches and civic clubs. Among the speakers were Robert Johnson Johnston, Regional Director of the United Auto Workers, Russell Lasley, Vice-president of the United Packinghouse Workers union, and Rev. Morris Tynes, Vice-president of the Chicago NAACP. Dr. Clyde Phillips of the Coordinating Council was chairman.

The Chicago Police turned out in large numbers for the South Side rally, prompting a speaker to thank them sarcastically "for the excellent protection given to us in this meeting." The audience laughed at the contrast between the unnecessary police "protection" at the rally and the lack of it at the Calumet Park attacks.



Marie Reed Haug and Fred Haug, principal defendants in the Ohio Taft-Hartley case.

## Support Abner's Proposal

An Editorial

Willoughby Abner, President of the Chicago branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has, as reported elsewhere on this page, called for a return of Negroes to Calumet Park. White-supremacist hoodlums last July brutally drove a band of Negro men, women and children picnickers out of this public park. Acting with virtual police immunity they have increased anti-Negro violence until Chicago stands on the verge of a race riot similar to that of 1919, which was precipitated by racists stoning and thus causing the drowning of a Negro boy who had swum or been carried by the current across the Jim Crow line at the beach on Lake Michigan.

Since July racist terror has barred Negroes from Calumet Park. Abner proposes a mass demonstration of Negroes there before winter sets in. He has suggested that it take the form of a prayer meeting or report meeting, but in any case some sort of meeting.

This is a proposal that deserves the support of all who believe in elementary democratic rights. It is a call for a militant and absolutely necessary action. For the Negro people cannot allow the racists to establish a "tradition" that Negroes are barred from there. The lost ground must be retaken.

But this action should not be that of the Negro people alone. White workers, whose unions rest on the foundation of Negro-white solidarity, also have a stake in the fight. Some union leaders have already distinguished themselves creditably by supporting the fight against the racists and the city administration's inaction. But these union leaders are the exception rather than the rule. The whole AFL-CIO is duty bound to participate in the struggle. Labor leaders who permit their political ties to the Democratic administration of the city to keep them out of this struggle are betraying the interests of the members — white and Negro — of their unions. Nor is mere lip service against Jim Crow enough — there is too much of that and too little action in the labor bureaucracy.

What is needed is deeds. This translates into full support of the return of Negroes to Calumet Park. It means mobilizing thousands of union members to participate in the Calumet Park rally that will take the area back from the racists.

### DALEY BOOED

The name of Mayor Daley, elected with labor support, was booed by the crowd when a message was read from him expressing sympathy with the Calumet Park victims. This was the expression of a growing popular awareness of the responsibility of the entire Democratic city administration — not merely some police officers — for the failure to protect elementary civil rights in Chicago.

A resolution on Maintenance of Citizens' Rights, presented to the rally by the Coordinating Council, included the following points: 1) A delegation to the state's attorney to urge fullest prosecution of the racist rioters at Calumet Park. 2) A request for a special session of the City Council to conduct a public investigation of two segregationist organizations, the South Deering Improvement Association and the South East Civic League. 3) The signing by all attending the rally of petitions, entitled "Ballots for Freedom," to be submitted to Mayor Daley.

The "Ballots for Freedom" called for: protection of the right of all Chicagoans to live where they please and to use all public facilities; police protection of all people, regardless of color, against mob violence; dismissal of police failing to do so; heavier penalties for mob violence; a publicity campaign by the city supporting the program.

The Coordinating Council's rally marks an advance in the mobilization of Chicago's Negro community against racist terror. It shows, moreover, encouraging links with organized labor, even though the AFL-CIO leadership as yet hangs back. Abner's proposal of a return to Calumet Park is militant and sound strategy — for if the Negro people are to advance, they cannot afford even partial retreats.

## ... Ohio T-H Frame-Up

(Continued from page 1)

seph Chaka was appointed to maintain communication were undisclosed."

As to Overt Acts (7) and (8), state what the "directives" or "instructions" were, and if they were in writing, provide a true copy.

Reply: "Fred Haug received a Communist Party directive to intensify the use of Local 715, International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, as a means of aiding and supporting the Cleveland Branch of the National Negro Labor Council."

### PARTY 'INSTRUCTIONS'

"Communist Party instructions were received by Marie Reed Haug to use Local 735, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, as a means of aiding and supporting the Civil Rights Congress, the Cleveland Branch of the National Negro Labor Council and the Progressive Party."

"Communist Party instructions were received by Fred Haug concerning the reading of Marxist-Leninist classics."

As to Overt Act (9), state the name of the person transported by Eric Reinthaler, and where the meeting was held.

Reply: Fred Leonard Gardner. (A notorious character from the government-witness stable in various witch-hunt cases. — J. S.) The place was a "downstairs apartment in the vicinity of 105th Street, Cleveland, Ohio." (105th Street is a main cross-town thoroughfare several miles long.—J.S.)

### PURCHASE CAR

As to Overt Act (11), state what the "directive" was, provide a true copy if it was in writing, and state where and how it was carried out.

Reply to Overt Acts (11) and (12): "James West directed an automobile to be purchased." "Directive was issued to Edward Joseph Chaka and Halbert Baxter." (Not a defendant.—J.S.) "It was carried out at Central Chevrolet, Incorporated, Cleveland, Ohio, in both an oral and written manner."

These "overt acts" would not add up to criminal activity of any kind even in the most implausible of movie or TV melodrama.

Nevertheless, trade union militants will carefully examine the nub of this case — namely, the government's attempt to broaden the scope of the anti-labor Taft-Hartley act by utilizing a vague "conspiracy" charge when it cannot prove illegal acts by regular rules of court procedure.

Judge Weick ruled that as to the paragraph immediately preceding the heading entitled "Overt Acts" in the indictment, the prosecution should tell what, if any, overt acts other than those set forth in the indictment were allegedly committed by the defendants. Also who committed them, when and where.

### CONCEAL CHARGES

U.S. Attorney Canary failed to answer this. Instead, he filed a motion for reconsideration, and for denial of the motion for a bill of particulars on this point. In his brief attempts to justify concealing such charges, he said:

"...An act may be an innocent or insignificant act, but if done in furtherance of the conspiracy such act becomes an overt act. Therefore, in the face of the present order it would be necessary for the Government to outline on page after page every single detail of its evidence. . . Such a procedure would be necessary because the Government could not at its peril determine in advance which bits of evidence might become overt acts. If a bill of particulars is filed, the law seems to be that the Government is bound by such a bill of particulars in the nature and

extent of its proof. Such a burden ought not be placed upon the Government at this stage of the trial."

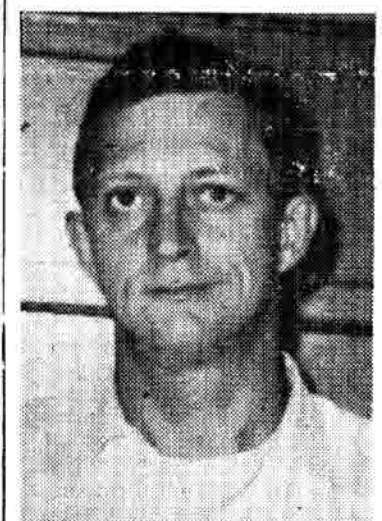
In simple English, Canary is saying he doesn't want to be pinned down to specific charges because he isn't sure he can prove them.

If the Government didn't have all its facts, why the haste to get an indictment against Fred and Marie Haug last January for perjury in Taft-Hartley affidavits, then an indictment for conspiracy against them and Reinthaler and five non-trade unionists?

### REAL CONSPIRACY

The obvious answer is that there was a conspiracy — by government officials and others — to "get" the Haugs and to extend the area of the Taft-Hartley Act before the statute of limitations ran out for charges against the trade unionists, and before the witch-hunt hysteria cooled down.

Trade unionists could start the roll-back of the anti-labor campaign of investigations, prosecutions, and legislation by mobilizing united support behind the defense and stop the attempt to extend Taft-Hartley through the Ohio conspiracy case.



ERIC REINTHALER

## ... 85th Congress Ends Session

(Continued from page 1)

of the Civil Rights bill. There's no question about that. But the place it will occupy will be an infamous one. Never before has the demand for the enforcement of the civil rights of the Negro people been so urgent. With great fanfare a civil-rights bill was passed "for the first time in 80 years" — but only after it had been pared down to such an innocuous point where racists in the South could tolerate it.

The first session of the 85th Congress is over. Is there any doubt about whom it served?

## Correction of Error In Sept. 2 Militant

Through a misunderstanding on the Militant's part, the article, "London Market Strikers Suffer Setback Due to Misleadership" in the Sept. 2 issue appeared under Peter Fryer's by-line with the further statement that it was based on an interview with Harry Constable. Actually, the entire article was Harry Constable's analysis of the market strike as told to Peter Fryer. That is the way it is published in the Aug. 24 Peter Fryer Newsletter. Constable, according to the Newsletter, is one of the best-known rank-and-file leaders of the London portworkers.—Editor.

# THE MILITANT

VOLUME XXI

MONDAY, SEPT. 9, 1957

NUMBER 36

## Jim-Crow Pattern Unchanged As N.Y. Schools Set to Open

By Morris Zuckoff  
Socialist Workers Party Candidate  
For New York City Comptroller

On Sept. 9, 945,230 children, through junior high school age, will return to school. For approximately 150,000 Negro and Puerto Rican children this will mean dilapidated schools, overcrowded classrooms, inexperienced teachers, lack of remedial classes, poor recreational facilities, and the complete absence of child guidance centers.

Close to 250 out of 800 schools under the jurisdiction of the Board of Education are segregated. The program to integrate schools in New York City passed by the Board of Education last February, has been scuttled by Superintendent of Schools William Jansen in collaboration with the Board of Education and the city administration. This was indicated by the cancellation of a proposed meeting between Jansen and the Board of Education's Commission on Integration that had been scheduled for Aug. 22.

On July 27, Jansen announced a master plan for zoning which completely ignored the recommendations on zoning and teacher assignment approved by the Board of Education itself. Six months earlier the Board decided that racial integration was to be a "cardinal principle of zoning," but to Jansen it was merely "an important consideration



MORRIS ZUCKOFF

after all other criteria of zoning had been satisfied."

Jansen assigned 1,150 of the 1,450 new teachers to Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant, contrary to the specific recommendation of the Commission on Integration that inexperienced teachers should not be sent to these schools for their probationary period. The Commission also recommended that 1,338 additional teachers be added to the teaching staff to relieve overcrowded classrooms, but only 279

were allowed by the city administration. A request for 50 special language teachers for Puerto Rican children was rejected altogether.

A militant, city-wide Negro and Puerto Rican parents organization, Parents in Action Against Educational Discrimination, publicly scored Jansen for having "failed to provide experienced teachers for our schools; failed to change zoning lines to promote integration; failed to plan new schools to avoid double sessions; failed to provide special guidance for pupils who need it most; failed to act on integration reports." Parents in Action are calling for a demonstration in City Hall on Sept. 19 to protest the blatant disregard by Jansen of the needs of thousands of Negro and Puerto Rican children.

The Negro and Puerto Rican parents, and all the organizations which have supported New York School integration, need aid in the courageous struggle they have waged. The mass demonstration proposed by the Parents in Action should be supported by the entire labor movement. This will show the Mayor and the Superintendent of Schools how the people of New York feel about the sell-out on school integration, and demonstrate their determination to carry the fight to a successful conclusion.

## 'Salt of the Earth' A Buffalo Success Despite Opposition

By Jane Palmer

BUFFALO, Aug. 24 — The showing of "Salt of the Earth" in Buffalo on Sunday, Aug. 18 was a notable success and a significant event for radical workers and trade-union militants in the Western New York area. The film is a moving, passionate story of a miners' union in New Mexico and its courageous struggle to conquer poverty and discrimination.

Actually, showing the movie in Buffalo posed a real problem and a test. About three years ago, at the height of McCarthyism, attempts were made to bring the movie here. But the reactionary pressure was so great that the AFL was induced to withdraw its union projectionist at the last moment, and the whole show was canceled.

### SMEARS FILM AND SWP

The undertaking by the Militant Forum to show the film was carefully watched by a host of witch-hunting and so-called patriotic organizations, and nothing was done by them until the last two days before the showing. Fred Turner, the outstanding red-baiter on the Niagara Frontier, and reporter for the Buffalo Evening News, opened the attack in an article entitled "Movie Described as Tool for Reds to be Shown Here." In this article, he proceeded to attack the movie as "a motion picture . . . characterized on the floor of Congress as 'a weapon for the Soviet Union,' and one which received 'columns of praise from the Communist press.'"

He continued to wage his attack against the movie by stating that "the Socialist Workers Party has been described in the Congressional Guide to Subversive Organizations as a 'disident Communist group.'"

However, Turner's efforts fell through. The red-scare article did not deter 125 persons who attended the showing. To all observers acquainted with the Niagara Frontier labor scene, this was a singular success for the Militant Forum and for civil liberties in general.

Another interesting aspect of the showing of the film was afforded by the attitude of Buffalo's other newspaper, the so-called liberal Courier Express. At first, the Courier tried to kill the movie by silence. Efforts by a Militant Forum representative to interest the dramatic critic, Mr. Martin, to review the film, met with a rebuff. "It's a Communist film," said he, "and I won't review it." Undoubtedly, after considerable thought, Mr. Martin changed his mind and unleashed an attack on the movie after its showing.

Despite the red-baiting, many stayed after the movie to express their gratitude and appreciation to the Militant Forum for having shown the film.

## Auto Workers and Wives Protest Buffalo Layoffs

BUFFALO, Aug. 31 — To the tune of "Solidarity Forever" the Niagara Frontier witnessed a militant rank-and-file protest rally by the 4,500-member Local 774-UAW against General Motors' Chevrolet

let Engine plant just outside Buffalo. Yesterday, Union members with their wives and children paraded with placards in a solid and spirited demonstration in front of company offices.

The company had announced a three-week layoff for "change-over." Workers would have been eligible for two weeks unemployment compensation in addition to Supplementary Unemployment Benefits under one of the terms of the GM-UAW contract. In order to cheat the workers out of their SUB payments, the company scheduled no work on the Friday preceding Labor Day and scheduled work for two days following Labor Day. With Labor Day pay, this will bring wages of the workers over \$36 making them ineligible to register for unemployment insurance and SUB. One union official stated this was a deliberate attempt to deprive workers of a week's unemployment pay.

Under the SUB plan, GM must

make up the difference between state unemployment benefits and 65% of a worker's take-home pay.

Friday's demonstration was spark-plugged by the Women's Auxiliary of Local 774. Faced with payless weeks at a time when children returning to school brings additional expenses to families, the men, women and children of Local 774 carried signs reading, "What GM gives with one hand they take back with two" and "GIVE US THIS DAY OUR DAILY BREAD."

The colorful demonstration was the first of its kind in the area for several years and won attention in the press and on television. It set a pattern of imaginative and energetic rank-and-file action which forecast for the company the kind of militancy they will face from the workers when contract negotiations open in the spring.

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### THE MILITANT

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## 'Sweet Smell of Success'

By Trent Hutter

After producing "Marty" and "The Bachelor Party," the remarkable motion pictures about the life and psychological problems of the lower middle-class in America's big cities, Hecht and Lancaster (now Hecht, Hill, and Lancaster) have given us "Sweet Smell of Success," another realistic movie, but this time about the world of gossip columnists and press agents. (With Burt Lancaster, Tony Curtis, a script by Clifford Odets, and an excellent musical score by Elmer Bernstein.)

It could be argued that, in contrast to "Marty" or "The Bachelor Party," the story of "Sweet Smell of Success," a story of intrigue, is too contrived to be entirely realistic. Be that as it may, the realism is in the portrayal of the columnist and of the press agent, his abject lackey. And the story holds the attention of the audience — a must in a good movie, play or novel; it allows the character portraits to unfold — and it even gives a chance to Chico Hamilton's able jazz group.

But is it realistic to show the columnist and the press agent without a redeeming feature? In this case, yes. Because the very nature and role of two professions were to be portrayed. The author was dead right not to use any sugar-coating. The malicious gossip-mongers, the columnists, as well as their scavengers, the press agents, are a significant part of our capitalist press. While outside of New York and a few (very few) other cities the international scene, for example, is quite inadequately covered in the daily papers, you can find one or another syndicated column in most of them. Millions still swallow these mixtures of Peeping Tom-innuendo on show people, political lies, superficial platitudes and planted "plugs." The gossip columns help to sell the papers.

The capitalist press is dominated by the morals of Big Business. Like the moguls

of industry, commerce and finance, the press — their press — likes to mask unscrupulous methods and corruption with pious hypocrisy, "patriotic" oratory, shrewd diplomacy and pseudo-"objectivity." Even the shameless gossip columnists do so to a certain extent. Still the gossip columnist and the press agent are undoubtedly among the most extreme, the most obvious exponents of the deeply-corrupt spirit of this Big Business press.

But don't think the columnist is simply after money. Being read every day by millions, he actually wields a good deal of influence and power. He can easily do a favor for those he likes or needs — and he can easily slander his enemies or those who somehow get in his way. In the picture "Sweet Smell of Success," the columnist and the press agent conspire to have an item printed by another columnist for whom the press agent literally acts as a procurer. A young musician is "exposed" as a marijuana-smoking communist, although he is neither a communist nor does he smoke marijuana. But never mind, he is fired immediately. A cop, too, assists the columnist in this and other filthy business.

These things have happened and still happen in one form or another. The completely unproductive professions of gossip columnist and press agent (who is paid to make people famous or to keep their fame from fading) are basically dishonest in themselves. By their very nature they invite immoral practices. Those who see "Sweet Smell of Success" can learn something about this phenomenon. We generally are not aware how much the vermin of Big Business journalism infest our homes and our minds.

Don't go to see "Sweet Smell of Success" if you feel like spending a gay evening. It's rather depressing. But so are the facts depicted in this essentially realistic movie.